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a collective farm. On June 26th, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps. 685 466

'(5) In the Kirov district of Moscow, E. K. Smirnov, a chauffeur, was arrested for stealing 22 pounds of bread from a bakery. The people's court . . . sentenced E. K. Smirnov to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(6) In Saratov, E. I. Gordeyev . . . stole various products from a warehouse. On June 21st, 1947 . . . Gordeyev was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(7) In Kuibyshev, E. T. Poluboyarov stole a wallet from a train traveller . . . On 4th July he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(8) On June 7th, 1947, in Kazan at the collective farm market, V. E. Bukin snatched money from the hand of Citizeness Pustinsky . . . On June 20th, 1947 . . . Bukin was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(9) On June 6th, 1947, in the village of Subovka in the Kutuzovsk district of the Kuibyshev region, A. A. Chubarkin and V. G. Morozov stole from a cellar 88 pounds of potatoes belonging to Citizeness Presnyakov. On June 17th, 1947 . . . both were sentenced to five years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.

'(10) On June 5th, 1947, in Moscow . . . K. V. Greenwald, who had been previously convicted for theft, took advantage of the absence of his neighbour, entered the room of Citizeness Kovalev and stole various household articles . . . Greenwald was sentenced . . . to ten years' imprisonment in corrective-labour camps.'

That people steal bread and other elementary necessities of life under the cruel threat of a minimum of five years' slave labour if caught, shows what dire provery they are suffering.[1] [735]

That slave labour in U.S.S.R. is very widespread is clear not only from the large amount of evidence given by former inmates of these camps (collected in the above-mentioned book of D. J. Dallin and B. I. Nicolaevsky) and from the facts published in the Russian Press of heavy punishments for the most elementary crimes—if the theft of bread can be so called. There is further evidence which is conclusive even if indirect. Soviet

[1] [See examples, category 116, pp. 94-95 --Ann'st]

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186 be improved by secession. All of them thought that they could
178 improve their position by finding that exact size of political unit in which their own language and their own national culture could be made to predominate and in which their own nationality or ethnic group could be turned into the leading class or social and political elite.

Nationalism in Eastern Europe was thus a reaction to the rapid diffusion of Western claims and to the expectations of security and opportunity throughout a group of societies that were only slowly, if at all, acquiring the productive skill and equipment to satisfy them. National secession, national expansion, and the national state appeared to almost all nationalities in the region as plausible short cuts to the prosperity, power, and prestige they all desired.

178 In the course of events, the experiment was actually made.
433 The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was destroyed and a num-
641 ber of successor states arose from its remains. There is no doubt on the whole that the emergence of these national states represented a significant step forward toward higher levels of popular participation in public affairs, toward political democracy, toward popular education, and even, in some respects, toward greater economic opportunities. But at the same time it seems clear that the change in the size of political units did little or nothing to come to grips with the fundamental causes of the poverty and backwardness of the region, or with the fundamental sources of its peculiar psychological and political frustrations and resentments. National and regional markets and consumer preferences remained as small and as unfavorable to mass production in the new states as they had in the old. Capital remained as scarce and productive investment as uneven and erratic as before.
178 Tools, technologies, and work habits changed slowly if at
● [935] all. Poverty persisted. Purchasing power remained low and
464 prices high. Production remained scattered over many small and inefficient factories. Innovations were accepted reluc-